

LABOR ADMINISTRATION

The Workers Vanguard

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Top Polls With Dowson Mayor Stanton B. of C.

FOR BOARD OF CONTROL



GEORGE STANTON

Active in the western Labor and socialist movements since early days when he was an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union movement, in recent years Stanton has been president of the Prince Rupert Boilermakers Union (CCL-CIO) and chairman of the Educational Committee of the Toronto District Council of the United Steelworkers (CCL-CIO). He is presently an Iron Workers Union (TLC-AFL) delegate to the Labor Council.

FOR MAYOR



ROSS DOWSON

Dowson became active in the Toronto labor and socialist movement almost 21 years ago when he took part in the unemployed youth movement. A former member of the Acme Screw and Gear local of the United Steelworkers (CCL-CIO), labor journalist, Dowson is secretary-treasurer of the Socialist Educational League. As mayoralty candidate for the Revolutionary Workers Party in 1949 he polled 23,645 votes.

Ford Brand, endorsed by the CCF and the TLC and CCL Labor Councils, topped the poll for Board last year. Harry Hunter is Labor Progressive Party candidate for Board of Control. These four, along with labor aldermanic candidates, can form Toronto's first labor administration.



HARRY HUNTER



FORD BRAND

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ELECTION PROGRAM

THE WORKERS VAN GUARD is pleased to turn over considerable space to publication of Ross Dowson's and George (Paddy) Stanton's Toronto civic election program. Both candidates are sponsored by the Socialist Educational League.

1.—Housing For Working People

Eighteen persons have been horribly and criminally burnt to death in fires in the Dundas-Queen-Jarvis-River Street area since 1951. Whenever these tragedies take place the press carries vivid descriptions and shocking photographs of the humanity-packed quarters where the victims lived. Responsibility is placed at the door

of the profit greedy owners of Toronto slums.

Just prior to this election a flurry broke out over the vast slum holdings of one Johanna Nemeth. But instead of being directed towards ridding the city of this foul disgrace the investigation has been diverted into the cheap and vulgar sensationalism of an anti-vice campaign.

Little or nothing has been done for the real sufferers of the slum areas. Not that the council is lacking in powers to remedy some of the most glaring evils. The Health Department has the power to close premises if they represent a health hazard. Properties considered substandard can be seized; repairs to meet the standards; the landlord forced to meet the costs of such work as a lien on the premises and, \$300 in penalties can be levied. Under the Fire Marshal Act the Toronto Fire Chiefs have just as sweeping powers.

By not exercising its authority the city government has been party to this crime against the citizens of Toronto. It is with considerable truth that the administrator of the Nemeth slum empire has said "City Hall is glad I'm running these houses." In the month of October the Welfare Department paid close to \$1,000 rent for Johanna Nemeth for the housing of relief cases.

If elected, Dowson and Stanton pledge that they will enforce the full force of all those regulations on the books that work to the elimination of slums. Even more they will strike at the real root of the problem—the criminal shoddy age of housing in this city in

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TORONTO MUNICIPAL ELECTION PROGRAM

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price range that workers can buy or rent.

Regent Park North with a waiting list of almost 7,000 families gives an idea what can be done. Not only has it provided some low cost housing but it is paying off in less fire and police services and increased tax revenue. The question is: Why are there no other projects such as this on the books, aside from the now delayed Regent Park South?

The majority of City Council, under the pressure of real estate interests is opposed to any effective program of projects like Regent Park. They are prepared to utilize the powers that are in their hands only when it comes to expropriating properties for the benefit of the real estate interests, to

subsidize out of the public treasury only to the profit of the real estate sharks.

Under public pressure the council has pulled back from completing the deal with Ridout in the Wood-Wellesley-Alexander redevelopment area. But they have already recorded their support for it as a commercial or high priced rental project—recorded their support for land expropriation as a service to private capital, and for subsidization of the real estate interests out of the taxpayers' monies.

Both Dowson and Stanton are for subsidized low rental housing projects in the Wellesley area. They are for the expropriation of the Dufferin and Woodbine race tracks, land that is already serviced, for low rental housing or low priced homes.

2—Vote No! On Two Year Term

For the sixth time within the past 15 years, the Liberals and Tories who pack city administration are asking the electorate to vote them in a two-year term of office. They want to further remove the administration of the city from the scrutiny and control of the people. And it is clear that the two-year terms is only the thin edge of the wedge. Controller-candidate Cornish, campaigning for the two-year term, has stated that he favors a three- or four-year term. The Globe and Mail, which is pressing for a yes vote, has been editorializing for a three-year term.

Those favoring the two-year term claim that the present 12-month term of office is too short. In making their case they freely admit that as employees of the electorate they take almost three months off the job to which they have sought election—the city council does not meet either in July or August. What citizen had a three-month holiday from his or her job?

Defeat! Vote No! on biennial elections.

Not less democracy, but more democracy in Civic affairs!

Today PROPERTY votes in Toronto and Metro affairs, not PEOPLE! There are over 150,000 roomers and boarders who do not qualify for the franchise. Thousands who do qualify as tenants, but not owners of property, are prohibited from voting on by-laws that involve the expenditure of municipal funds. Large scale own-

ers of property can vote in each ward where they own property for all posts but city executive. Such candidates as Phillips, Saunders and Belyea have constantly frustrated attempts to remove these reactionary restrictions on civic democracy.

There is no such thing as representation by population on Toronto city council. Ward III, primarily a business man's ward, with one third the electors of residential Ward 8, has the identical representation. This situation has been carried over to the Metropolitan Board which the Tory provincial government thrust upon the citizens of Toronto as a substitute for amalgamation. Populous working class York Township has the same representation as tiny wealthy Swansea.

City government, along with Metro government, is stuffed with appointees. The post of Metro Mayor, the Harbor Commission, the TTC, the CNE, etc., etc., institutions that play an important economic and cultural role in the lives of the people of this city, are outside of the control of the people. They are used to provide plums for the hangers-on of the bosses' political machines.

To put an end to the reactionary property qualifications on the vote, to win representation by population, for an elected Metro Mayor and for workers' control of the TTC, etc., mark your ballots Dowson and Stanton.

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3.—Keep Tax Exemption

The Provincial government has indicated that next year it intends to wipe out Toronto's graduated tax exemption which in a modest way has eased the tax burden off the poorest homeowners. Powerful real estate interests have long sought to remove this legislation from the books. Their stooges attempt to justify its abolition as part of an anti-slum campaign, for, they point out, some slum property owners profit by it.

Under the Municipal Act the city council can maintain graduated tax exemption through passing a private bill. It can also raise the ceiling. Dowson and Stanton in city hall will move passage of a private bill to maintain graduat-

ed tax exemption. To prevent slum landlords from profiting under it they will ask that it apply to owner-occupied homes only. They will fight to raise the maximum considerably higher, for due to profiteering and inflation there is no housing worthy of the name under the present \$4,400 maximum.

The biggest single outlay of municipal funds, over \$45 million or one third of the budget, goes to the cost of education. Metro Mayor Gardiner states that \$120 million is needed to finance capital costs of new schools. Dowson and Stanton will lead the fight to have the provincial and federal governments remove the increasingly oppressive costs of education from the shoulders of the municipalities.

4.—A Labor Stronghold

Both Metro and the Toronto council, just as their Bay Street bosses would, have taken advantage of the Tory-framed Ontario Labor Act to deprive civic employees of the right to join a union of their own choice. Under this device the council bargains with only two municipal unions. Workers who are members of other unions are refused certification and have to accept negotiations with the council through the representatives of these two unions.

Dowson and Stanton as trade unionists stand firmly by the right of workers to be represented by unions of their own choice and if elected will seek to remove the Metro and city councils from under this reactionary section of the Ontario Labor Act.

This summer the Canada Packers local of the Packinghouse Workers Union took up with the provincial government, under its

much-touted anti-discrimination legislation, the case of one of its members who was discriminated against at a Toronto dance hall. Despite the conclusive evidence

Meet and Hear the
LABOR CANDIDATES
Ross Dowson
For Mayor
Geo. (Paddy) Stanton
For Board of Control
SUNDAY NOV. 27
at 8 p.m.
MINEWORKERS HALL
32 Isabella
(Off Yonge, south of Bloor)
Auspices of
The Socialist Educational
League

that sustained its charge of discrimination, the Tory minister found no case and the matter was killed. All the time, under city by-laws, the city council had full power to lift the license of the dance hall—a regulation that was passed to meet just such eventualities. Aware of both its authority and the truth of the union's charge, the council did nothing. If elected Dowson and Stanton would utilize this legislation to fight discrimination.

Dowson, as chief magistrate, and

Stanton as a member of the Board of Control, would combat the boss-police court combination, would fight against any attempt to deny workers the right to mass picket and would vigorously oppose the use of police against picket lines and for scab-herding as took place recently at the International Resistance plant.

They would utilize the prestige of their office to support labor's demand for a shorter work week, at the same take-home pay, to combat unemployment.

5.—Municipal Ownership of Gas

The Liberal Federal government has knuckled under to the refusal by powerful U.S. financial interests to have anything to do with share ownership of the Trans-Canada Pipe Line in return for requested financial aid. Instead of going ahead to build a government owned national pipeline that would provide citizens of this country with use of their natural resources at cost, the federal government has agreed to subsidize these money-hungry trustards by financing the most difficult and costly stretch of the line.

It is apparent that the Tory provincial government, out of monies raised from Toronto and other Ontario communities, is kicking in something like \$35 million. At this end of the line the Consumers Gas Company is going to profit from the public monies handed out by the bosses' governments. Dowson and Stanton advocate that the city take over the Consumers Gas Company. The people should benefit from the expenditure of their own money. Gas, like hydro and transportation, should be provided at cost. Municipal ownership of Consumers Gas would be a powerful action in the direction of a na-

tionally owned trans-Canada gas pipeline.

Dowson and Stanton are also for municipal ownership of milk and bread distribution. With waste and profit eliminated, these essentials will be more readily available to our citizenry. The administration of these projects should be placed in the hands of the workers in the industry who will see that jobs are protected by cutting down the hours of work with no loss in pay.

Help Wanted

Age, Sex, Weight, Height: immaterial.
Qualifications: only a desire to help in the struggle for a labor administration.
Hours of Work: any time you have available.
Nature of Work: typing, folding, distributing election literature, talking to your shop-mates and voting labor on December 5. Financial help also gratefully accepted.
For further details: phone WA. 3-5174 or report to 569 Yonge Street (at Wellesley).

6.—Against War - For Socialism

This summer the citizens of Toronto were confronted with the spectacle, at the foot of the City Hall steps, of what was called Canada's First Family H Bomb Shelter.

The Board of Control approved of the erection of this structure as did chairman of the Metro Civil Defense Committee Alderman Summerville and Canada's Civil Defense Chief, Major-General Worthington. But everyone, not to speak of the "experts" knew that this structure was no protection from H Bomb warfare. The fact is, declare all the scientists who have had anything at all to do with this awesome force, THERE IS NO DEFENCE FROM THE H BOMB.

The RCAF chief of telecommunications states that H Bomb carriers could pass over Canadian cities as little as three to five hours after being traced on the Distant Early Warning line now under construction in the far north. What with radioactive fall-out, an explosion in Montreal or Windsor would render Toronto uninhabitable. A hit in the Toronto area would completely level the city. The "defense" that the city council is providing, its shelter, the sirens that it talks about, everything they are doing or what anyone else could do in the realm of defence, is no defense at all.

The Metro Civil Defence chairman, protesting against the truth being made known, asked "if you

keep telling people their cities will be obliterated and everybody killed . . . how can you recruit them to drive ambulances, practice first aid . . ." People, he said, will take a defeatist attitude towards civil defence!

But it is entirely correct that people should take a defeatist attitude towards civil defence when there is no such thing as civil defence against H Bomb warfare. By hiding the truth about H Bomb warfare, and by going through all the mockeries of bomb shelters, warning signals, the city council is committing a crime against the people.

The city council is guilty of promoting a defeatist attitude about the struggle against war. And that is the issue: to mobilize the people, not for mock defence actions, but for action against war itself.

Instead of going along with, accepting, war, a workers' administration in city hall would utilize the full force of its authority, powers, and influence, to mobilize the people in the fight against war.

Mayor Phillips lends the prestige of his office to the opening up of super-markets, bank buildings, etc. Dowson and Stanton would lend the prestige of their office to any and all actions that would eliminate the danger of war.

They would, for instance, support any move on the part of the people of Toronto to have their sons in

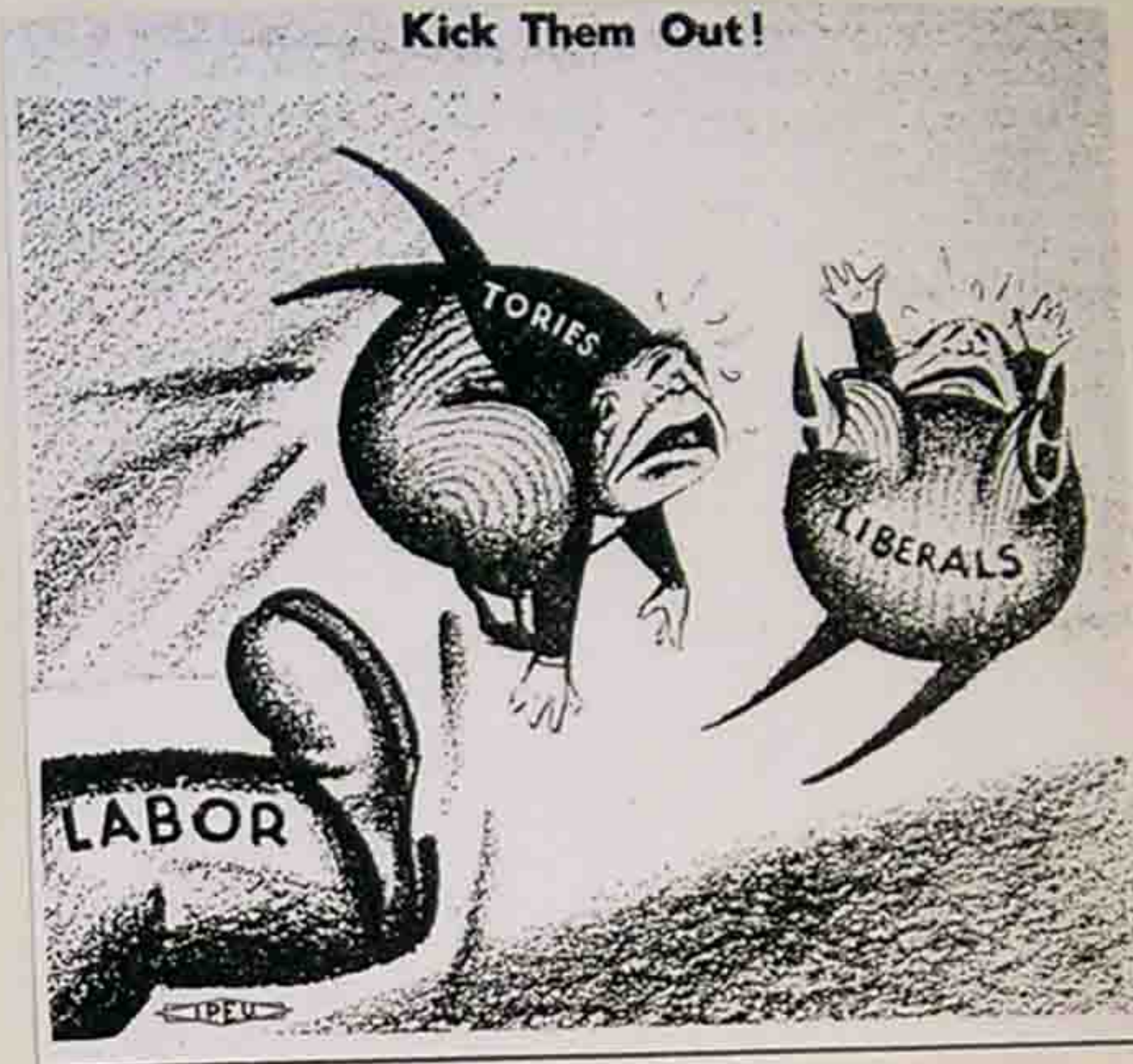
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the armed forces withdrawn from occupation of West Germany. The East Germans have made it clear through their inspiring struggle of June 17, 1953, that they want the withdrawal of Russian occupation troops. They have also made it clear that they will have nothing to do with German Rearmament and the restoration of their old capitalist exploiters. The withdrawal of Canadian troops from the West would completely destroy any justification on the part of the Kremlin to keep troops in the East. The removal of Canadian troops would overcome the legitimate fears of the East Germans that the West intends to restore capitalism there. Then the German people would march again towards the establishment of a free, united socialist Germany.

This election the working people of Toronto have an opportunity to place a labor administration in City Hall. Such an action would result in immediate gains for the working people. Even more it would be a powerful inspiration to the entire country to march forward towards the establishment of a CCF government in Ottawa.

By voting for the program on which they stand, by placing Dawson and Stanton at the head of the polls, you can bring closer the socialist society of peace, plenty and prosperity.

Kick Them Out!



SOCIALIST EDUCATION LEAGUE ORGANIZED

By GEORGE STANTON

Chairman of the Socialist Educational League

The Socialist Educational League has been formed. This is the most important development that has taken place in Canadian labor politics for many years. It can already be said with confidence that the League is destined to play a vital role in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

The League is a product of the crisis that confronts the CCF. Its purpose is to fight against the Liberal-reformist policies that the present leadership are foisting upon the movement and to fight for a socialist CCF.

The success or failure of this

struggle will determine whether the CCF will disappear into some new coalition of Liberal-reform politicians, and all its precious capital as an independent movement of the working people be dissipated, or, whether it will serve as its founders hoped—as an

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Announce Formation Of Socialist Edcn League

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strument to establish a socialist Canada.

From refusal "to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism" the Coldwell leadership ended up during World War II supporting conscription of manpower and without conscription of wealth. With the opening up of the cold war they swung the movement behind the militarization of Canadian economy, voted support to aggressive military alliances such as the Marshall Plan and The North Atlantic Treaty Organization until we witnessed the shocking spectacle, at the 1950 Vancouver National Convention, of M. J. Coldwell demanding what Liberal Prime Minister St. Laurent was only cautiously feeling his way towards; demanding that Canadian troops be sent into the counter-revolutionary War in Korea to bolster up the corrupt and discredited dictator, Syngman Rhee. From here it was only a small step for Coldwell to defy the position adopted by the party in convention, and the known opinion of the people of this country, and support the rearmament of the enemies of the German people.

All this has been done under the guiding principle enunciated by Coldwell that "the class struggle is dead." Even more, according to the present leadership, socialism NOW, instead of aiming to "eradicate capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth," is a

vague moral or ethical idea the exact character of which no one can determine but an inner few.

It is obvious that if the leadership are allowed to continue unchecked on this course that they will destroy the movement. They must be fought against and the movement re-oriented.

Under normal circumstances one would expect that this struggle for a socialist CCF could and would take place from entirely within the CCF itself. . . . and without the organization of such a body as the Socialist Educational League. Did not David Lewis, just a few years ago when national secretary, write "Nothing and no one is so holy as to be above analysis and criticism. Thus we must tolerate inside the CCF all shades of understanding of socialism and keep our doors wide open to all honest Canadians."?

Unfortunately these good words of David Lewis are honored only in their breach, not in their observance. All the attempts of the rank and file to resist this false course have met with slander, harassment and persecution. Faced with such hostility, thousands of members of the movement have dropped into inactivity, many have dropped formal membership. Others have attempted to organize resistance to the course of the leadership.

Unable to meet their opponents on the plane of ideas, the leadership has resorted to what all bankrupts do—to the use of formal organizational powers — expulsions. Immediately after being repulsed by the membership-in-convention, the British Columbia leadership used its executive powers to drive left winger and ex-M.P. Rodney Young out of the movement. This Spring saw the expulsions in Ontario of almost a score of leading-activists. The Provincial Council quite frankly admitted that "the accused had been useful members of their riding associations and had not shown any overt disruptive tendencies," that they were expelled not for any overt acts, but for their ideas.

The leadership does not have "doors wide open" but has closed the doors of the movement to so-

cialists who do not share their "understanding of socialism." A couple of years ago several prominent members of the Revolutionary Workers Party, after the disbanding of that organization which had always supported the CCF, applied for membership in the CCF. Along with acceptance of all the obligations of membership they asked for one of the privileges—freedom to express their views. Their applications had the support of constituency clubs in which they had worked for some period—but the Ontario leadership barred them.

The result of all this is that an atmosphere of submissiveness, of conformity, pervades the majority of the constituency clubs. There are almost no serious discussions on party policy, of unfolding national and international events. This has become the prerogative of the "leadership" not the members. The clubs are being transformed into machines that are supposed to leap into action only when there is an election and there are leaflets to distribute.

Anyone familiar with the real condition of the movement can only conclude that for the whole next period the struggle to build a left wing cannot proceed from entirely within the movement itself. Other resources have to be developed. The SEL has set itself this task.

The League, formed by some of those who have been expelled, by some of the former members of the RWP, and by activists now in the CCF, through its activities intends to stimulate the development of the CCF in a socialist direction. Through its classes and forums it will provide what is so lacking in the constituency organizations. Through such activities as the Toronto election campaign it will show workers, both members and supporters of the CCF, what can be done, generating pressures against the leadership. It will popularize the program of socialism, applying it to the problems of the working people of this country.

It will develop the program that is necessary and around which the left wing will rally if the CCF is to be saved for socialism. When conditions are favorable the League will seek to win affiliation to the CCF as the socialist educational wing of the movement.

The Socialist Educational League needs your help. Join it now!

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THE ELECTION ISSUE

The vast, the overwhelming majority of the population of Toronto are working people. It is they who make the wheels of commerce and industry go round. It is they who raise the youth, the men and women of the future Canada, and who sustain the generation whose energies in previous years laid the foundations of this country's great wealth.

Yet, despite the fact that it is they who have created all wealth, the working people receive only a small portion of it. They are without wealth and without security. Many have cars, TV sets, houses, but they have no security. Since they are entirely dependent on their jobs for income, a serious illness with attendant medical bills, an accident, not to speak of even a short period of unemployment, can have a staggering effect. Any one of these can result in the loss of possessions accumulated over years of effort.

There is another Canada—the Canada of the Fifty Big Shots. It is they who own stocks and bonds, who own the factories and all the products that are produced in them. Through their ownership of the means of production they siphon off the great wealth of this country into their pockets. Organized as a class, through the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties, they have grabbed and shaped the instruments of government, municipal, provincial and federal, to serve THEIR interests.

Through their control of the state they pass, and have the power to enforce, laws that preserve and extend their interests as a class, against the interests of the working people. Through their control of the national state they determine the role Canada will play in relation to other states. In the last 40 years they have twice thrust the people into world wars that cost the lives of 100,000 Canadian youth and poured millions of dollars into their coffers.

Important sections of the working people, in attempts to defend themselves from the worst excesses of individual capitalists, (their employers), have banded together in unions. Through their unions the workers have improved working conditions and raised living standards. But to meet the employers, organized as a class with the state power to pass laws which can quickly cancel out gains won on the union front, many workers have concluded that it is necessary for their class to enter politics under its own banner. Thus it was that the CCF and other working class parties were formed.

If the working people are to cease being mere pawns in the maneuvers of the capitalists, if they are to determine their own fate, they must enter the field of politics. They must elect into power, representatives of THEIR interests, from their OWN ranks, subject to THEIR control.

In Toronto municipal politics the organized labor movement has elected several to office. Regardless of the criticisms one can make of some of the stands taken by these representatives, it must be recognized that they are only a handful, surrounded by hangers-on of the Liberal and Tory parties, and under terrific pressure. They cannot achieve anything real and lasting because they are a minority.

Up until the candidature of Dowson in 1947, labor had not contested the mayoralty for many years. In 1951 the organized labor movement entered Ford Brand in the Board of Control race and elected him. Since this success, instead of moving out boldly to contest other posts, it has been content to enter this one candidate for executive post and a scattering of candidates for council. One of the reasons for the failure of these candidates to get elected is that, by not putting up a slate of candidates for the majority of the offices, labor has never appeared as a real alternative to the Liberal and Tory machines.

The truth is, that no matter how clever, no matter how honest a labor representative on a Liberal-Tory packed political body may be,

the ward-heeling majority who are tied to the interests of the political machine upon which they depend for re-election; vote him down. Their differences within their own circle are as nothing compared to the gap that divides them from the interest of the working people. If they are not successful in demoralizing him, if possible, they try to corrupt him and absorb him into their machine.

The election of a minority labor representation can serve no real purpose but as a stage in the struggle to win a majority.

Labor needs power! Not just "representation," not just "a voice." It needs the majority! For at every turn the interests of the working people, the overwhelming majority, come headlong up against the interest of the tiny capitalist class.

This year with Dowson campaigning for mayor and Stanton stepping into the Board of Control contest, labor is in a position to elect a majority to the Board of Control and city council.

A labor Toronto council would be a terrific stride toward the establishment of a CCF government in Ottawa and a socialist society.

Today with mankind poised on the brink of thermo-nuclear warfare or the devastation of a depression, the ability of the working people of the world to take society out of the hands of their exploiters and into their own hands will determine the fate of humanity. In this election you can participate in the decision—whether we are to go forward to a land of peace, happiness and plenty, or, to disappear in the hell-blast of thermo-nuclear explosions.